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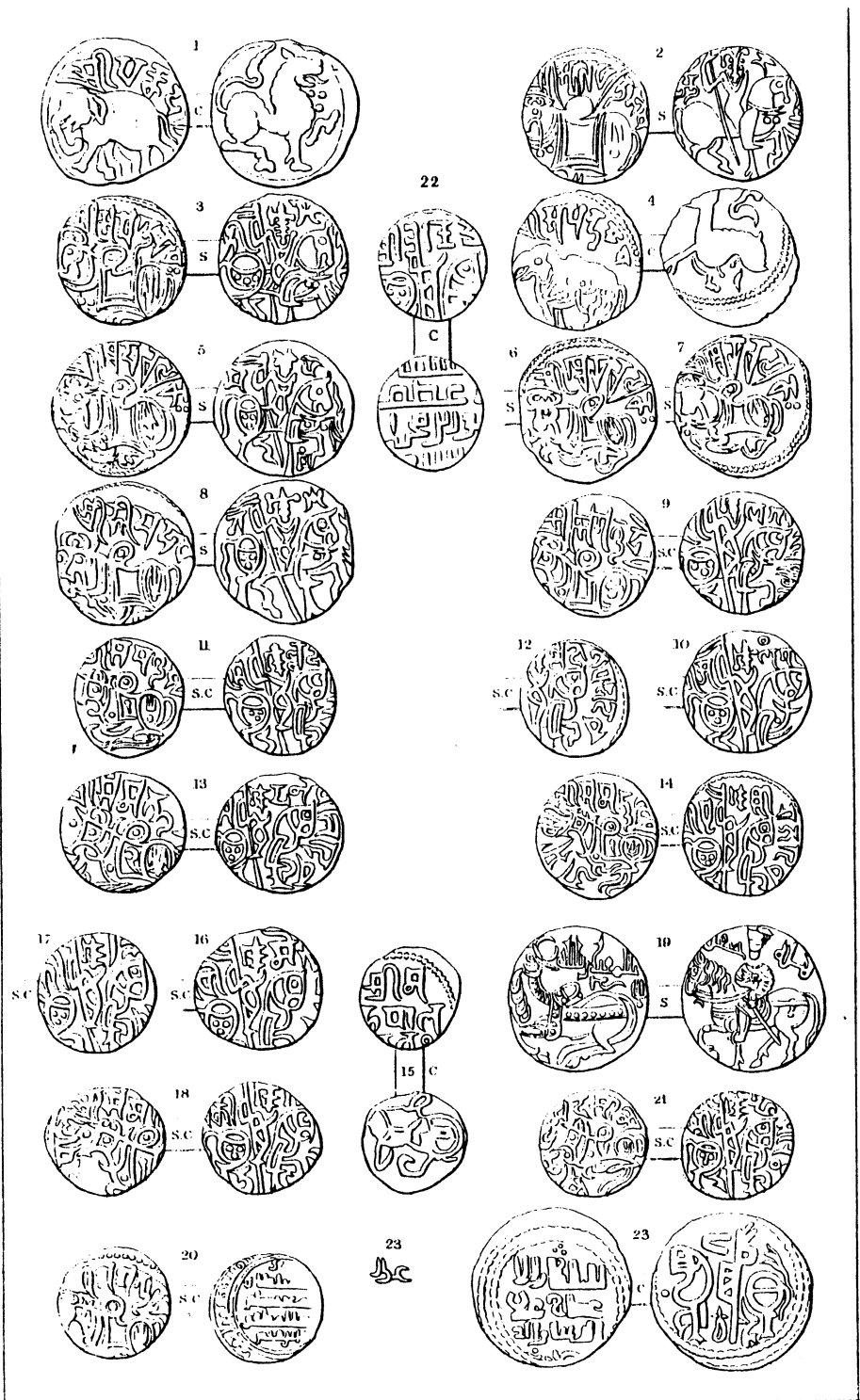
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ART. VI.—*On the Coins of the Dynasty of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.* BY EDWARD THOMAS, ESQ., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[*Read 6th June, 1846.*]

IN a work by M. Reinaud, entitled, *Fragmens Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde*, lately published at Paris, is to be found the following translation of a passage from the Arabic Manuscript of Abûl Rihan Mohammed Albîrûnî, which enables Indian numismatists to fix both a kingdom and a date for a class of coins, regarding the history of which much uncertainty has up to this time prevailed: Albîrûnî's original Arabic version, designated *Tarîkh-i-Hind*, was composed in India between the years 1030 and 1033 A.D. His evidence, therefore, in the present instance is of the highest value, as having been committed to writing in the country to which it refers, at a period immediately contemporaneous with the existence of one of the short list of kings whose history it concerns.

“Le dernier roi de cette dynastie¹ fut Laktouzeman. Ce prince avait pour vizir un Brahmane nommé Kaller. Ce vizir était favorisé par la fortune, et il trouva dans la terre des trésors qui lui donnèrent de la force et accrurent sa puissance. D'un autre côté, la fortune tourna le dos à son maître. En effet, il y avait bien long temps que cette famille était maîtresse du pouvoir. Laktouzeman prit une direction mauvaise; il se livra à une conduite honteuse; et, comme les plaintes arrivaient de tout côté au vizir, celui-ci fit charger le prince de chaînes et l'enferma pour le corriger. Ensuite le vizir se laissa aller à la tentation d'être le maître unique: il avait des richesses suffisantes pour lever tous les obstacles. Il s'empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le Brahme Sâmânda. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Kamalavâ, puis vinrent successivement Bheema, Djayapâla, Anandapâla, et Nardadjaupâla. Celui-ci monta dit-on, sur le trône l'an 412 de l'Hégire (1021 de J. C.). Son fils, Bheemapâla, lui succéda au bout de cinq ans. La souveraineté Indienne s'éteignit dans la personne de ce dernier, et il ne resta plus d'individu de cette famille pour souffler le feu².”

Prior to the discovery of this passage, the kingdoms and epochs

¹ The Türk Kings of Kábul. The previous relation closes with the reign of Kank.

² “La nouvelle dynastie me paraît avoir remplacé le Bouddhisme par le Brahmanisme, et j'attribue à ces princes la série de médailles que M. Wilson a crue d'origine Rajepout.”—REINAUD.

assigned to the dynasty who had issued the series of coins, heretofore denominated Rájput, were manifold indeed. However, admitting all the doubt reasonably attendant upon the early discovery of a limited number of medals, and marking the various and unlooked-for ramifications into which this class of coins eventually extended, we may, in the case in point, fairly claim a degree of credit of no ordinary character for the science of Numismatics, which in spite of all obstacles enabled the admirable Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, James Prinsep, to announce with confidence so long ago as 1837, on information derived almost solely from the medals themselves and their places of discovery, that the species of coins which form the subject of the present notice, extended "upwards to the Brahmanical rulers of the Punjab, and probably of Kábul:" an opinion now seen to be justified to the very letter.

Professor Wilson also, in adjudging the coin of Prithví Raja to its right owner, the last Hindú king of Delhi (A.D. 1192), was able to conjecture, with some certainty, that the early princes of the dynasty, who had introduced medals of the like device, had reigned in the Punjab at the end of the tenth, and early part of the eleventh century. In addition, then, to a confirmation of the speculations of Professor Wilson and James Prinsep, we derive, from this passage in Albírúni, the distinct information, that a Brahmanical dynasty succeeded a race of Túrki kings in Kábul. A full list of these Brahman sovereigns, brought down to a time when other Mohammedan authors begin to notice Indian history, enables us, in a most satisfactory manner, to make a correct attribution of a very extensive, if not important, class of medals.

The dates of the reigns of the last two princes of this line are fixed by Albírúni; and these alone would be sufficient to enable us to form an approximate estimate of the epoch of Samanta, and that of his predecessor, the founder of this dynasty. We have, however, in addition, a singular piece of collateral evidence, illustrative of the period sought, in the discovery of one of Samanta's coins, so lately as 1842, at a place called Obrzycko, in the province of Posen, in company with those of thirty different kings of Europe and Asia, all of whom reigned prior to 975 A.D.¹ Considering the distance this solitary coin of Kábul had to travel, (probably only in the simple course of commerce) prior to its inhumation, in seeking for a satisfactory era for this monarch, we may justly admit a margin of forty or fifty years, pre-

¹ For the notice of this discovery, as bearing upon the era of the Brahman kings of Kábul, we are indebted to M. A. de Longperier, whose valuable communication on this subject is printed at the end of M. Reinaud's work.

vious to this date, and assume his accession at any period proximate to 935 A.D. Over and above these evidences, we find a more specific date for our purpose, and one less removed from the period in question, in the known fact of Jeipál's existence as king of Lahore, prior to the death of Aleptegín, which took place in 796 A.D., as Jeipál is noticed by Mohammedan historians as opposing Sabaktagín in his early expeditions into India, while this last was still only the general of Aleptegín: allowing, then, forty years upwards from 976 (a date by no means proved to be that of the commencement of Jeipál's reign,) for the united reigns of Samanta, Kumlowa, and Bhím, we shall scarcely err in fixing the accession of the first of the three as early as 935 A.D. This mode of computation, however, under any circumstances, is but imperfect, and the utmost the materials at our command enable us to assert with any degree of certainty is that Syala's usurpation took place early in the tenth century.

Before entering upon the question of the identification of any of the doubtful names in our list, it is necessary to premise, that great latitude is to be allowed in any attempt to reconcile Hindú names, written originally in the Sanskrit character, with a transcription of the same into Arabic. All who are acquainted even with the letters of these two languages will be prepared to admit the difficulty here adverted to. The Arabic Manuscript from which the present French translation has been made is acknowledged to be of modern execution: hence, as might be expected, we labour under full disadvantage of the errors of succeeding manuscript copyists. These, were they not amply notorious, are sufficiently proved to have existed in perhaps more than their usual force in the present instance, where M. Reinaud is found giving four possible readings of the name of Nardadjanpál from his own manuscript, besides adverting to three other readings by Otbí and Ferishtah.

Keeping the above in view, then, we propose, instead of endeavouring to identify Hindú names through the mazes of uncertainty of the Arabic manuscript, boldly to correct the Arabic from the unquestionable records of the coins themselves; and instead of applying coins to kings, apply the kings to their own coins.

Before proceeding with the nomenclature of the Brahmanical kings, it may be proper to notice in this place, the coincidence between the Arabic name of the celebrated Túrking, Kank, كك, and the *Srí Vanka dev श्री वकं देव* of the Elephant and Lion type of coin which preceded the Bull and Horseman money introduced by the Brahmans. The similitude of names and the needful correspondence of all avail-

able evidence, are surely sufficient to authorize our indicating Vanka dev, as the hero the history of whose rule immediately precedes the extract above given.

The first king in this Kábul dynasty, named in the Arabic, "Kalar Brahman," is, we have little doubt, the Syalapati of our coins. There is less difference in sound between Syala and Kalar, than would at first be imagined, so that if our translator Albírúni wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable. If this supposition be rejected, there is still in reserve the very likely substitution by succeeding copyists of the Arabic Manuscript, of a ك for an س. It will be seen that in this argument, all account of the latter part of the name found on the coins is rejected. The Pati was probably, as it is at the present day, used as a second name; or we may fairly look upon Syala as a popular abbreviation of the somewhat long title of Syala pati dev.

For the third king's identification, it must be confessed, that we have to demand to the full, all the consideration above claimed, to justify our appropriation of the medal bearing the legend *Khvadavayaka*, or *Khedavayaka*, to our Arabic author's king, كملوا, *Kamlowá*: *Khedava* and *Kumlowa* are not, even to liberal ears, quite accordant in sound; still their sounds, with the causes of disturbance stated above, might well be farther removed one from the other. Supposing the original native name to have been correctly rendered into the Arabic in the first instance, the mutation from *Kadává*, كداوا, to *Kamlowá*, كملوا, might easily have occurred. A blot in the middle of the word, or a careless running of one letter into another, would readily convert داو, *dan*, into ملو, *mlu*. The style of coin, as well as the metal it is composed of, agree exactly with those of three out of the four first rulers of our very limited dynasty; so much so, and so much evidence does it bear of belonging to one of the earlier kings of this race, the later princes of our list having adopted a mixed silver and copper currency, that we might almost assume from the negative fact that it does not bear the name of any of the other three princes, that it was once the property of the third Kábul Brahman.

Referring to the name of Nardadjanpál, seeing the uncertainty as to its correct orthography avowed by M. Reinaud, we naturally hesitate in any attempt at numismatic identification, more especially as we are disposed to doubt whether the denomination here quoted is a name at all, and whether it is not rather a mere indication of the rela-

tionship of the successor of Anungpál to his grandfather, the great Jeipál. In the lithographed Persian copy of Ferishtah, the words *نمبره جيبال* "grandson of Jeipál" have been adopted. The *Rózut-al-safá* as well as its abridgment the *Habib-al-sair*, both works of early date and high authority, give no name, mentioning only the accession of Pál, the son of Anungpál.

The readings of the coins of the three other sovereigns in Albírúni's list of whose money we have specimens, do not appear to require any special notice, as the Hindí and Arabic names agree most satisfactorily.

With a view of assuring ourselves of the probable wealth and extent of kingdom of each ruler of this race, it may be as well that we should advert generally to the comparative abundance, as well as to the localities in which this class of coins is discovered. The medals of Syala are found in considerable numbers in Afghánistán. They are, however, comparatively less abundant in the Punjáb, and North of India; whereas, the monies of Samanta, common as they are in and around Kábul, are, we imagine, even more plentiful in the Punjáb, and the north-western provinces of Hindústán. We can at all events, from our own experience, assert that they are met with in surprising quantities in the North of India, and in actual amount and number now preserved, far surpass those of any other Indian king antecedent to the Mohammedan conquest. We are, as yet, aware of the existence of only four specimens of the money of Khedava. The coins of Bhím are found in Kábulistan, but are seldom, if ever, met with in India. The coins of Anungpál are common, and are plentiful in the Punjáb, and the northern parts of the Ganges Dúáb. Of Jeipál, Nardadjanpál, and Bhímpál no medals are known.

Numerous as Syala's coins are, their *boná fide* production, both from his mint and from his own resources, does not appear beyond the reach of probability, explained as it is, in a measure, by Albírúni's mention of his great riches.

To account for the enormous amount of the money of Samanta, there may be assigned two different causes; either, an actual legitimate issue from his mint of the number of coins of which the medals now extant are the representatives, (rendered possible by the magnitude of his possessions); or, the recoinage of the money of his predecessor, arising from a desire of aggrandizing either himself as an individual, or the religion of which he was a prominent follower, by replacing with his own name and a symbol of his creed, those of his predecessors of an opposing faith. Samanta's celebrity, from whatever

source derived, is evidenced by the uniform retention of his name on the coins of his successors, from the time of Anungpál down to the Mohammedan conquest of Delhi in 1192; by the adoption of the device of Nandí, superscribed by his appellation, by the later Ghaznevides; and by the assumption of the Horseman reverse of a coinage at that time completely identified as his, by the Ghoríans, on their first extension of their dominions. It would appear also, from the number of Samanta's proper coins still extant, and the variety of countries they are to be found in, that he must have held under his sway some very rich and extensive kingdom. That under him the original Kábul territory of Syala was carried to the extreme limits of the Punjáb and Sirhind, is rendered likely by the number of his medals still found in those parts, and by the fact, that coins bearing the Brahmanical device conjoined with Samanta's name, and evidently imitations from the Kábul originals, are found in use by his early successors, and regularly continued as the currency of those countries for nearly two centuries. Keeping in view, in this inquiry, that Samanta was not the actual founder of his dynasty,—at all events as far as the original kingdom of Kábul is concerned—if he had not made himself remarkable, either by conquest, or by the advancement of Hindú ascendancy, it is difficult to explain why the name of Syala, the first of the line, was not the one chosen for a mint motto, or even that of Bhím, the last Brahman predecessor (as we shall presently show) of those who introduced the use of bi-nominal coins. This custom, be it observed, was in all likelihood derived from the practice of the Mussulmáns inscribing the titles of the mundane head of their religion on the reverses of their medals, but in the present instance the name of Samanta supplied the place of the Moslím Imám; if the idea now advanced be correct, it in itself supplies us with another indication, over and above those we have yet to advance, of Samanta's priestly supremacy.

It may be as well here to notice, that the silver and copper coins bearing the single word "Samanta" over the bull, without any name on the reverse, cannot, under any circumstances, be taken to be the coins of a class of monarchs using one particular form of medal, as distinguished from one individual bearing the appellation; as Samanta's immediate successors inscribe their own names above the figure of Nandí, on the obverse of their own coins.

It is somewhat worthy of remark in this place, and with reference to this particular view of Samanta's greatness, that Ward, in his list of Kings of Hindústán, extracted from the Puránas, notes Sumoodru Palu, as the founder of a Yogí dynasty of paramount monarchs,

numbering sixteen kings; among these sixteen, we find the names of no less than three princes, whose coins we now have to show, bearing the identical Bull and Horseman device of the Kábul Brahmans. Two of these, Bhím and Anunda, correspond in name with two of the successors of Samanta recorded by Albírúni. Moreover, this same list of Ward's, brought down through many Rajas, ends in Prithví Raja, the last Hindú monarch of Delhí, and one who, we have already seen, retained Samanta's name and style of coin. If we accept the evidence of the Puránas in this coincidence, it will be seen that following Ward himself, we must entirely reject their chronology.

That Samanta should, from a motive of individual vanity, have recoined, in his own name, all the money of his predecessors within his reach, is highly probable; indeed, we have an instance of a like act in a country not too far removed to have furnished him an example; as the author of the *Raja Taranginí* informs us, that Toramana, king of Kashmír, from 415 to 430 A.D. melted down the ancient coin of the country, and struck dinars in his own name.

Samanta's renown as a king, whether he were a conqueror or not, was probably connected with the progress of Brahmanism, in opposition to Búddhism, the former of which is shown by Colonel Sykes to have made such important advances just about this period¹: at the same time there is evidence sufficient, aided by that afforded by Albírúni, to justify us in supposing that the Túrks of Kábul were Búddhists. From religious zeal to advance Brahmanism, it was possibly Samanta's object to remove, as early after the usurpation of the monarchy by his family as he safely could, all traces of Búddhist ascendancy. In the East, where these things are much considered, in no way would a man's ideas turn more readily in an attempt of this nature, than to the destruction of the coins of former kings, and the increase of his own.

Were there nothing intrinsically indicative of a religious motive in the assumption by these Brahman kings of the Nandí type of coin, the entire change in the device of the coinage of a kingdom, concurrent with the accession of a ruling power professing a different creed, would in itself attract attention to the subject, especially when, in addition, we have reason to think that the coins of the Túrks, in their die of the elephant, refer to the Búddhist faith. The fact of the entire absence of any single specimen of the silver coinage of the Túrks of Kábul is most remarkable; especially as the copper pieces, bearing their elephant and lion device, are plentiful, we cannot with any

¹ Vide *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, No. XII., Art. XIV.

reason imagine these kings or their country so poor, as to have been absolutely wanting in a silver currency. The careful suppression of these silent records by a successful adversary, then, is perhaps one of the few ways of accounting for their non-existence. The copper coins being more perishable, may have been allowed to escape; nay more, of so little importance does the copper currency seem to have been considered, that we have instances of Samanta's name appearing on coins of the old die, even after Syala had introduced copper money of the same form and size as his silver currency. The issue of these elephant coins may, indeed, have occurred early in Samanta's reign, before his bigotry gained head, otherwise it militates somewhat against this explanation of the cause of his apparent wealth.

The association of the names of Hindu Deities in several distinct instances, on the coins of Madanpál, Prithví Raja and others, as prefixes to the name of Samanta, testifies in an obvious manner the sacerdotal eminence of this last.

It will be remarked, on a reference to Albírúni, that a notable change takes place in the termination of the names of the sovereigns after the fourth on the list. Syala, Samanta, and Bhím, call themselves déva; Jeipál and the rest are all pála dévas. At the same time, our plate shows a considerable variation in the style of coinage; in the medals of Syala, Samanta, Khedava, and Bhím déva, we have the name over the bull on the obverse, the reverse being occupied by the horseman, accompanied by what, as far as we know, are mere mint marks, and the Arabic word جس (just), whereas, in the money of Anung pál déva we find the designation placed on the reverse, occupying the place of the mint marks just noticed, the bull on the obverse being superscribed (as has been before mentioned) by the title of Samanta; and this practice is continued by succeeding monarchs of the race. The inscription of the name of a preceding prince on the coins of his successors cannot but point, not only to the celebrity of the former, but to the acknowledged relative inferiority of the latter; hence we naturally inquire, if Khedava and Bhím considered themselves equal to their immediate predecessor, why Anung pál, and most probably Jeipál, admitted their own subordination? We have it, on the authority of Ferishtah, that Jeipál was the son of Hispál; and we learn that he was king of Delhi, and that he extended his dominion to Lahore¹. This must be taken to mean, that Jeipál conquered the province of Lahore, and as we find him noted as one of the successors of the Kábul dynasty, we might well suppose that he con-

¹ Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Useful Tables.

quered Kábul also; but Abúl Fazl tells us that Aleptegín possessed himself of Kábul as well as Ghazní, and we know from Ferishtah and Mirkhond, that Jeipál's dominions extended westward only to Pesháwur and Lughmán; clearly proving that he did not own Kábul. If such be the truth, the only way of accounting for Jeipál's being recorded as a king of the Kábul race, is, to conclude, as Samanta's coins give us reason to do, that the early princes of the line possessed the Punjáb, and that Jeipál, in taking this from them, succeeded to all they then had left, and, with their lands, took the honours of one of their line. It is possible also, if the Brahmans did not possess the Punjáb, that, on their loss of the kingdom of Kábul, leaving, as it did, the owner of the land of the five rivers, the nearest neighbour of the advancing Mohammedans, Jeipál may have put himself forward as the "Fidei Defensor," and, as such, called himself successor to these priestly kings. In identifying the Jeipál of Delhi with Albírúni's king of Kábul, we may very fairly conjecture that, being of the Delhi Tuar line, Jeipál was a Tuar Rájput and no Brahman. If objection be taken to the sufficiency of the data upon which the identification of the Delhi with the Lahore monarch is founded, there is still much to favour the supposition that Jeipál was a Rájput; his name as well as the caste of his peculiar subjects admit the probability of his being a Bhátti, or shepherd. This change of caste in a line of Hindú monarchs, would at once explain any acknowledgment of inferiority. There are, however, objections to the too ready admission of this solution of the difficulty, as Ferishtah unquestionably mentions Jeipál as "of the Brahman race:" this, in a Mohammedan author, may merely mean one of a line heretofore of that caste, or as a king identified with Brahmanism by promoting and defending that creed. The same remark, indeed, might be applied to the statement of Albírúni himself, on the subject of the caste of the early Kábul kings, except that the allusion to the Brahman origin of Syala and Samanta is distinct and reiterated; whereas the other sovereigns are only indicated by name as succeeding each in his turn, without any precise reference to the class from whence they sprang.

It is not a little singular, amid the profusion of the medals of other kings of the dynasty, that no single specimen of the produce of Jeipál's mint has as yet been brought to light. It would be unreasonable to infer from this that Jeipál did not coin money; the Eastern feeling on the subject, his long reign, and his rich kingdom, all oppose this deduction. We must conclude, then, that the extensive currency of Samanta sufficed for the general wants of the time, and that Jeipál's frequent employment in war, left him little time to attend

to the arts of peace, and induced him to content himself with a very limited issue of coin.

Touching the extent of the kingdoms possessed by each prince of the line, but little information is accorded to us by Albírúní; he simply alludes to the revolution which placed the first of the race at the head of the kingdom of Kábul, and then satisfies himself with a scanty notice of the rest of the dynasty.

We have already ventured to infer from the record borne by medals, that one of the first kings of this dynasty added the Punjáb to his somewhat limited Kábul state. The dominion of Jeipál is shown by Mohammedan authors to have "extended from Sirhind to Langhán, and from Kashmir to Multán." The Hindú annals of the countries themselves bear witness that he was also king of Delhi. Anungpál, in succeeding to these possessions, was not able to retain the full vigour of his sovereignty against the repeated attacks of the Mohammedans. In his reign Jessalmír is noted as tributary, and held under him by a local king. This and many other states, regarding which no distinct information has come down to us, there is reason to believe, must have been attached to the kingdom during Jeipál's time. Indeed, whatever the peculiar dominions of each king may have been, all testimony on the subject demonstrates that Jeipál, Anungpál, and his successor, were recognised as paramount monarchs of Northern India. The readiness with which the troops of the local rajas were collected at their demand, their usually being found at the head of the army when assembled, and the protection they extended to states not in their own immediate possession, all show this supremacy. It would seem never to have been the custom of Indian conquerors to occupy the kingdoms they subdued, they satisfied themselves apparently with exacting submission, demanding as a proof of such, either a nominal tribute or an obligation of service. Nardá-djanpál (known among the Mussulmáns as Jeipál II.), finally lost Lahore, which from this period became an appanage of the Ghaznevídes. In the absence of any other evidence, we must conjecture that Bhímpál succeeded to the territories his father was able to save from Mohammedan conquest.

While on the subject of the coins of the kings of Kábul, it may be proper that we should briefly advert to several medals displaying more or less relation to the original type, but inscribed, at the same time, with Cufic letters. No. 19 of our plate is a coin evidently imitated from Syala's money, bearing on the one side the bull, but little altered, with the exception of the removal of the sign of the trident of Siva from the animal's haunch to a more prominent position

on the field of the coin; the space usually occupied by the name of Syala, is here supplied by that of the Khalif, **المقتدر بالله** Al Muk-tadir billah; on the space above the bull is also to be seen a monogram, apparently one of the Sanskrit double letters, **नन**, found on some types of the money of Syala, reversed; this mark, in itself, identifies the coin most intimately with those we suppose it to be derived from: the reverse exhibits the horseman, somewhat altered from the original, in the absence of the spear, and the nearer approximation of the head-dress to the form used by the Imáms; the whole is superscribed **لله جعفر** "Lillah Jafer," Jafer being supposed to be the real name of the Khalif himself, or that of his Vizir, to either of whom, it correctly belongs. This coin is conjectured by M. A. de Longperier to have been issued by some quondam Hindú prince newly converted to Mohammedanism, who must have been in a measure connected with the state of Kábul. There are several casts of similar coins in the British Museum, and one original in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris. That there was much intercourse and some unexplained connexion between the Hindús and Mohammedans in the days of Syala, there is further evidence in his coins themselves: for the curious monogram **)+** in front of the horse on his medals and those of his successors, is discovered from a clear cut die of a coin of Khedava, to be a strange perversion of the Arabic word **عدل**. As the Mohammedan specimen errs in its reversal of a Hindi letter, and would seem to indicate itself the work of a die-cutter versant in Cufic, but ignorant of Sanskrit; so, the coins of Syala, both in this instance and those about to be noticed, prove their artist a master of Sanskrit, though wofully uninstructed in Arabic. On other of Syala's coins (especially on three presented to the British Museum by Colonel Lafont), are to be found what, at present, in the imperfect state of the medals themselves, appears to be a somewhat lengthened Persian inscription, in front of the horseman. These coins are here alluded to, in the hope of drawing the attention of possessors of better specimens to the subject, with a view to its full elucidation. In order to embrace a reference to all medals having any bearing on this question, we may note the publication of four coins in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vide Plate XLIX., Vol. IV., Figures 27, 28; and Plate XI., Vol. II., Figures 14 and 17. The Sanskrit inscription on these has not been satisfactorily deciphered. The Persian reads clearly **ناصر الدنيا والدين** Násir-

ed-dīn, it is to be observed, was the title of Subuktāgīn, a title adopted by no succeeding Indian potentate till 1210 A.D.

In the series of kings using the bull and horseman currency we have a break extending from Bhimpāl to Prithvī Raja, a period of nearly a century and a half. Into this extensive gap we are at present able to introduce, with historical certainty, only one king, Madanpāl. (Fig. 15.) The name of Sallakshanpāl (vide Figs. 11 and 12), claims insertion in our list, but the local annals extant do not enable us to fix its due position. The make of the coins, and the form of character with which they are inscribed, suffice to point to an early reign; as such, we have placed this king before Madanpāl. We have, also, the coins of three princes (Nos. 16, 17, and 18 of our plate¹), who will probably be found to have reigned during this interval; however, the paucity of specimens, and the abrasion of the letters on the margin of these medals, do not permit us to suggest the full titles they once bore. The name of Mahapāl is distinct on the small piece, Fig. 15, and the device seems to bear some affinity to the Kābul type. This will probably be found to be a coin of Mahipāl, otherwise Bhūpāl, king of Benares and Gāur, A.D. 1027. We must not omit, in this casual mention of the coins of Madanpāl and Prithvī Raja, to allude to the titles of Mādhava and Asāwuri, to be discovered on each respectively. Mādhava is one of the many names of Krishna, and its adoption on the money of a king of Kanoúj, for as such we identify Madanpāl, is appropriate, inasmuch as the classic land of Mathura, the birth-place of this divinity, was in all probability a fief of Kanoúj. The Asāwuri, another title of Durgā, may evidence a separate dynasty and a race of kings of a different Rājput family, who may have adopted for their local goddess, the mountain-born Parvuti.

The unassigned coin of पोमे** देव² (Fig. 16), displays the Asāwuri, and hence may teach us to look for the identification of its master

¹ See also Figs. 21 and 23, Plate XIX., *Ariana Antiqua*.

² Were it not venturing beyond what the strict reading of the inscription on this coin altogether permits, it might well be attributed to Sōmēswar, the Chohan King of Ajmīr, the fourth in descent from the great Visala dev.

In the transition state of the Devanagari alphabet at this period, the initial letter of the name, which undoubtedly (referring to the modern forms) looks more like a प p than any other consonant, may possibly have been used to represent an स s, and what appears of the remainder of the word tallies well with सोमेस्वर देव "Someswar dev." Vide Tod, Vol. I. p. 225; and Vol. II. p. 451.

among the families of the Chohans, or the Tuars, to whose throne they succeeded.

That the whole country of Hindústán was, during the century and a half above adverted to, in a state of extreme anarchy, incident upon the frequent inroads of the Ghaznevides, there can be little doubt; that there was a great subdivision of monarchies and consequent general insignificance of their rulers, we have evidence enough to show, did we not find proof of it in hearing of the combination of no less than one hundred and fifty kings to oppose the invasion of Mohammed bin Sâm.

It is difficult, among so many sovereignties, to know where to turn to seek the owners of our coins, or to conjecture in what line, and by what process of descent, the right to strike these medals was continued from monarch to monarch, till we find it fixed in Prithví Raja. It is possible that the mere possession of the capital, in itself constituted its lord a nominal Maharaja, and that with the capital also went the die, which had long been in use for the currency of the dependent countries. That this particular species of coin was regarded as the fixed currency of the dominions of the successors of the Kábul kings, is sufficiently proved by its acceptance, in part, by Ibráhím; its being found in use by Prithví Raja; and its recognition and retention by Mohammed bin Sâm, and his successors on the throne of Delhi. At the same time, it is not unlikely, as the prestige attaching to the lordship of the old seat of government gradually became weaker, as its princes became less powerful, that this coinage, in continuing to be recognised among the Hindús as a type of their faith, was adopted at will by any of the numerous rajas of that belief, who, for the time being, attained ascendancy sufficient to entitle them, in any way, to assume the leadership of their brethren in their opposition to the advance of Mohammedan conquest.

It has been mentioned above, that the Mohammedan princes of Ghazní and Ghor imitated, in part, the coinage of the Kábul kings: some notice of these currencies may not, therefore, be out of place in our present inquiry. The copper money of the later Mussulmán kings of Ghazní has one of its surfaces ornamented with the bull Nándi, above which is inscribed, as in his own coins, the name of Samanta; the other surface bears the name and titles of the Mohammedan prince in Cufic characters. The first Ghaznevide of whom we have money of this description, is Ibráhím (A.D. 1058), Plate, fig. 20, and its use seems to have been continued until the close of the reign of Khusrú Shah (1160). The adoption of a symbol so purely Hindú, superscribed by the name of a Hindú king, by a sect so bigoted in these matters as

the followers of Mohammed, is singular, but may be accounted for, either by the supposition that the Ghazní sultans, in virtue of their conquest of a part of the territories of Samanta's successors, assumed a reverse for their coins indicative of such success; or, more probably still, this device may have been borrowed by the Ghaznevides from motives of policy, originating in a desire to conciliate the feelings of their new subjects, in continuing a symbol connected with the Hindú faith, to the rejection of the invocation of Islamism, up to this time used, in its place, on their own coins. It is to be observed, that this change was not made till the sultans began to trust themselves among their Indian subjects, by taking up their residence at Lahoro. The last of the race of the Ghaznevides, Khusrú Malik, discontinued the use of the bull reverse, and issued money having Cufic inscriptions on both sides.

The house of Ghor appear to have assumed one of the symbols of the Kábul money, after they had won Ghazní in 1171: instead, however, of following their fellow-Mohammedans in affecting the bull, they adopted the opposite surface, and issued a copper currency, decorated, on one side, with the horseman, accompanied by the words *Sri Hamíra*, श्री हमीरः, inscribed, on the reverse, with their own titles. The device thus adopted was continued, on the one hand, through the Delhi successors of Mohammed bin Sám up to the time of Násir-ed-dín Mahmúd (A.D. 1266), and on the other, having been employed severally by Mahmúd (Plate, fig. 22), the son and Afghán successor of Ghiáth-ed-dín Mohammed bin Sám, and Táj-ed-dín, the slave king of Ghazní, it fell with this last territory into the hands of its Kharizm conquerors, by whom it was retained in a slightly altered form (Plate, fig. 23) till the fall of their family in 1231. This style of coin was also employed by another slave of the house of Ghor, Kubácha of Sindh, whose money may be referred to in fig. 19, Plate XX., of *Ariana Antiqua*.

In addition to adopting the reverse just noticed, Mohammed bin Sám, on his conquest of Delhi, continued the use of the Bull and Horseman coin of Prithví Raja, in the full purity of its original device, varying only the inscriptions, the "Sri Samanta dev" being replaced by his own titles, and the place of the Hindú king's name over the horseman being supplied by the "Sri Hamíra" already inscribed on the Ghazní medals. Specimens of this money are extant, carrying the Delhi Mohammedan succession down as far as Alá-ed-dín Masáud, A.D. 1246.

A remark occurs to us, relating to this, the latest specimen of the

Kábul imitations, which may, with propriety, be introduced in this place. It is singular that the word Hamíra, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for in the annals of the Hindú kings of India, proves to be a title which must even have borne reproach to the ears of the votaries of that faith, being simply an abbreviation of the full title of the Khalif of Bagdad,—“Amír ul Muminín,” continued by the Mohammedans in this curtailed form, from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazní money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. This reading of the meaning of this much-disputed word, is well upheld by the fact, that the earliest instance of its use is on the reverse of the first occupying Mohammedan conqueror of Delhi; as well as by its retention unaltered by his successors, so long as they continued to employ this form of coin: the abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into Srí Hamíra will be seen to have been necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindí letters, of the size it was the custom to employ.

We append, in a tabular form, for facility of reference, a list of the kings of the Kábul dynasty, giving the names in Arabic, as found in Albírúní; and in Hindí, as found on the coins themselves; where possible, adding the dates, and the probable kingdoms ruled over by each.

SINCE writing the above, we have had an opportunity of examining the Arabic copy of the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh* in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as a valuable Persian MS. of the same work in the British Museum¹, the texts of which give us some reason to question the accuracy of the Paris MS. of Albírúni, in as far as regards the passage quoted at the commencement of this article. It is not by any means proposed to impugn the general correctness either of the Arabic version or M. Reinaud's translation, at the same time we cannot be too cautious in receiving as fact, a relation bearing upon a period, the history of which has hitherto been completely obscure, and regarding which we now for the first time obtain any written evidence; keeping in view also that this testimony (with the exception of the collateral support to be derived from coins) stands alone, it is requisite, should there be any doubt of its exactitude, to submit it to the most rigorous tests within our reach. The first in order, and perhaps the only one available on this occasion, is that which may be said to be contained within itself, the due correspondence of different copies. Unfortunately no second transcript of Albírúni is available, whereby to check the errors of the MS. whence M. Reinaud derives his text; we are therefore necessitated to apply to a separate compilation, which however displays so much of the letter and spirit of the original, that its version may readily be accepted in correcting a doubtful passage even in a copy of that original itself; it is to be borne in mind that the absence of a record of any given fact in the work of Rashíd-ed-dín does not in any way shake the veracity of the author whom he quotes; it is only in cases of actual discrepancy that there is reason to question the accuracy of the sole existing transcript of *Tarikh-i-Hind* of Albírúni.

It may be necessary briefly to allude to the connexion existing between these two works, and to mention that Rashíd-ed-dín, the author of the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh*, acknowledges to have derived all the materials for the composition of that part of his history which relates to India, from the Arabic version of Albírúni's *Tarikh-i-Hind*. The former production was composed in Persian about the year 1310 A.D., and almost simultaneously translated into Arabic, one

¹ This MS. (No. 762B, Addit.) is also a very ancient and seemingly trustworthy copy. It is said to have been once the property of the great Oljáitú Khán himself, under whose auspices part of the work was written. Be this as it may, there seems good reason to believe that it was once owned by Shah Rokh, the son of Tímúr. The MS. is the work of different hands, and badly written at the part quoted below.

of the earliest copies in which language we are now in a position to cite as our authority¹.

It is true that, under ordinary circumstances, a transcript of an original work ought to be considered a better authority than a compilation formed from extracts of the same; but, in the present instance, we find that, although Rashíd-ed-dín left unnoticed much that was to be found in Albírání, yet in the case of the extract to which we refer, as in many others, he transferred whole passages in all their original integrity, though, of course, not always in the identical words, in which they were found in the *Taríkh-i-Hind*.

Hence the question, as to the confidence due severally to the London and Paris Arabic MSS., resolves itself into whether, allowing even for re-translation, an extract collated under the eye of an eminent scholar and admirable linguist like the author of the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh*, the actual document of which we are able to refer to, and which was engrossed so long ago as 1314 A.D. supported as it is by unexceptionable parallel passages in a second language, be not preferable to a modern copy of an original, which, for all we know, may have passed through the hands of an endless series of mere mechanical transcribers.

The Asiatic Society's Arabic MS. is written in so careful a manner and so clear a hand, that it is next to impossible to err in the mere perusal; and with reference to the subjoined extract, the exactness of its text is strongly corroborated by a counterpart account to be found in the British Museum Persian copy, and in several MSS. of the *Taríkh-i-Binákítí*, an abridgment of the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh*, undertaken during the lifetime of the author of this last; thus in point of date being nearly equal to its original, and possessing an advantage in the present case over any actual copy of the work from which it was compiled, inasmuch as, issuing from the same source, its information is brought down to us through another and independent channel.

We now transcribe our Arabic version, adding its translation, as well as the Persian extracts from the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh* and the *Taríkh-i-Binákítí*, merely pausing to notice that "Kuttaur" is mentioned by Elphinstone as the name of one of the tribes of Kafirs of the Hindu Kúsh², and that Burnes informs us that the chief of Chitral to this day bears the title of "Shah Kutore," and boasts of his Macedonian lineage³.

¹ For full accounts of this manuscript, vide *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. XI., p. 20.

² Elphinstone's *Cabul*, Vol. II., p. 376.

³ Burnes's *Bokhara*, Vol. II., p. 209, 8vo. edit.

و رَجَعَ كَنَكُ إِلَى وِلَايَتِهِ وَ هُوَ آخِرُ مُلُوكِ كَتُورْمَانَ^١ كَانَ
 وَ سَاعَدَهُ الزَّمَانُ وَ ارْفَدَهُ الْبَخْتُ وَ وَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ أَكْثَرُ ذُنَابِ الْمُلُوكِ
 الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ فَقَوَّى بِهَا وَ اسْتَظْهَرَ بِتِلْكَ الْأَمْوَالِ وَ الذُّخَايِرِ حَتَّى اغْتَرَّ
 بِهَا وَ نَسَى الْوَاجِبَ وَ رَكَبَ قَبِيحَةً مِنَ الْقَبَاحِ فَشَكَّتِ الْخَلَائِقُ
 إِلَى الْوَزِيرِ مِنْ سُوءِ فِعْلِهِ وَ حَبَسَهُ لِلتَّابِتِ^٢ ثُمَّ اسْتُتُولِيَ عَلَى الْمَلِكِ مَرَّةً
 ثَانِيَةً وَ بَعْدَ وَثَائِعِ مَلِكِ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الْبِرَاهِمَةِ سَامُنْدَ وَ مِنْ بَعْدِ سَامُنْدَ
 كَمَلُوا وَ بَعْدَهُ بَهِيمُ^٣ * * * *

"And Kank returned to his country, and he was the last of the Kuttaurman kings, and it happened that the times were prosperous for him, and fortune exalted him; and he lighted upon many of the treasures of former kings, and grew strong in consequence; and he shone with these sources of wealth and treasure until he grew proud, and forgot his duty, and committed some great wickedness, and the people turned from him in complaint towards his vizir because of his wicked deeds, and confined him for correction. Then he acquired dominion again, and after his death there reigned over them of Brahmans, Samund, and after Samund, Kumloo, and after him Bhím," &c.³

Corresponding Persian passage from Jāmi-al-Tawārīkh in the British Museum.

و كَنَكُ بِاَوْلَايَتِ خُودِ مَعَاوَدَتِ كَرْدِ وَ اَخْرَجَنِ بِاَدِشَاهَانِ
 كَتُورْمَانَ بُوَدِ نَرْمَانِهَ چَنَانِ اَوْرَا مَسَاعَدَتِ وَ مِرَاوَدَتِ عُمُودِ كِه
 هَمِهَ ذُنَابَنِ مُقَدِّمِ اَيَانَ^٤ بِيَاوَتِ وَ بَرَانِ مُتْظَهَرِ وَ مَغْرُورِ شَدِ نَاگَا

¹ Sic in orig.

² Jāmi-al-Tawārīkh, Part III., Sec. 5, Royal Asiatic Society.

³ This translation is from the pen of Mr. H. T. Priusep.

⁴ مُقَدِّمِ اَيَانَ

ارتکاب قبیحۃ نمود قتلہ^۱ خلافت سکایت او بوزیر می کردند وزیر
 او را جهة تادیب بگرفت و حبس کرد و دیگر بار بمرملک مستولی
 دش و بعد از وفات او اثر برای همه^۲ سامند بادشاه شد و بعد از
 گملوا و بعد از و بیهم * * *

“And Kank returned to his own country, and was the last of the Kuttaurman kings. Fortune so favoured him, that he found many treasures of (former) chiefs, and in consequence he became proud and exalted; at length he gave way to disgraceful conduct, on which account the people complained of him to his vizir. The vizir took him into custody for the purpose of correction, and confined him. And a second time he became ruler over the kingdom. After his death Samund, from among the Brahmans, became king, and after him Kumlowa, and after him Blím,” &c.

The Persian sentence, corresponding with the commencement of the above, from two copies of the *Tárikh-i-Binákítí*, reads thus:—

و بعد از و کنک و او اخیراً بادشاهان کتورمان بود^۱

“and after him [came] Kank, and he was the last of the Kutaorman kings.”

A similar extract, from another less perfect copy, runs

و بعد از و کنک و او اواخرین^۴ بادشاه کتورمان بود و بعد
از و از برهمه سامند بادشاه شد * * * *

The information acquired by this variation from the reading of the Paris MS., (supposing it to be correct), does not in any material degree affect the positions assumed in the above paper on the Coins of the Kings of Kábul.

It now appears that there was a direct usurpation of the sovereignty of Kank by his vizir, and that no other monarch of Kank's

اندر براهمه^۲ قبله^۱

* No. 119, Royal Asiatic Society, and a copy of Sir G. Ouseley's.

⁴ Sic in orig.

³ *Tarikh-i-Binākitī*. Brit. Museum: Rich Coll., No. 7627.

race filled the throne of Kábul after his death. The non-introduction of Syala's name in our MSS. but little affects his identification as that vizir: his coins, in their make and execution, indicate their own position as preceding those of Samanta, as well as the Brahman origin of him whose name they bear. The re-accession of the last of the Túrks kings explains to us, in a measure, how Samanta came to be looked upon as a founder of a dynasty, without at all detracting from the celebrity, either religious or temporal, heretofore attributed to him.

The very legible penmanship of the Arabic MS. of the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh* supplies us with another version of the name of the second Jeipál; he is there called *تدو جیپال* Tudau Jeipál. The Persian *Jámi-al-Tawárikh* has *نندوا جیپال* Nundowa Jeipál.

In bringing these observations to a close, we may add, that we have not failed to consult the Persian copy of the *Jámi-al-Tawárikh* in the Library of the East India House, but this MS., among its other imperfections, has unfortunately a lacuna just at the exact point in the history of Kank's reign where it might otherwise have served to elucidate the present inquiry.

[Since the printing of the preceding sheet a coin has been found at the East India House, which confirms the conjectural reading of "Someswara," suggested by the writer in Note 2, p. 188.—Ed.]

LIST OF THE KINGS OF THE HINDU DYNASTY OF KABUL AND LAHORE.

The Arabic names from Albirūnī; the Sanskrit ones from Coins.

No.	Name.	Name in Arabic.	Name in Sanskrit.	Date of Accession A.D.	Recorded Kingdoms, and Authorities.			
					Kábul.	Lahore.	Delhi.	Other States.
1	Syala	كلر ?	श्री स्यालपति देव	920	Albirūnī			
2	Samanta	سامند	श्री समन्त देव	935	Do.			
3	Khvadava	كلوا	श्री खुदवयक.	. .	Do.			
4	Bhim	بيم	श्री भीम देव	. .	Do.			
5	Jeipál	جيبال	. .	975	. .	Ferishtah	Prinsep U.T. Abúfazi?	Jessulmir (tributary)
6	Anungpál	انندپال	श्री अणुगं	1000	. .	Do.	Do. Do.	
7	—? Jeipál	نردجنپال	. .	1021	. .	{ Lahore annexed to Guzni, 1023 A.D.		
8	Bhimpál	بيمپال	. .	1026				
	Madanpál *	. .	श्री मदनपाल देव	1070	Kanauj
	Prithiví Raja	. .	श्री प्रथिवीराज देव	1176	Ferishtah Tod	Ajmír †

* Mentioned as king of Kanauj, and contemporary with Rajapal of Benares. This last came to the throne in 1070. Madanpál is also recorded in inscriptions as king of Kanauj in 1096 A.D. Vide Bird's Guzrat, and Useful Tables. † Ferishtah, Tod.

CONTENTS OF THE PLATE.

NOTE. The weights of the silver coins of the Kabul kings, Nos. 2 to 8 inclusive, average in the specimens engraved, forty-eight grains. The mixed silver and copper coins of the Lahore princes and their successors, Nos. 9 to 18, range as high as fifty-two grains. The best specimen of the copper money of Vanka dev, No. 1, only reaches forty-three grains.

- | Nos. | Coins of |
|----------|--|
| 1. | Vanka dev श्री चक्र देव |
| 2. | Syala श्री स्थलपति देव |
| 3. 4. | Samanta श्री समन्त देव |
| 5. 6. 7. | Khvadava श्री खदवयकः |
| 8. | Bhīm श्री भीम देव |
| 9. 10. | Anungpāl, <i>Obv.</i> श्री समन्त देव, <i>Rev.</i> श्री अण्णं***** |
| 11. 12. | Sallakshanpāl, <i>Obv.</i> श्री समन्त देव, <i>Rev.</i> श्री सल्लक्ष्णपाल देव |
| 13. | Madānpāl, <i>Obv.</i> (मधव) श्री समन्त देव, <i>Rev.</i> श्री मदनपाल देव |
| 14. | Prithvī Rāja, <i>Obv.</i> असावरी श्री समन्त देव, <i>Rev.</i> श्री पृथ्वीराज देव |
| 15. | Mahapāl श्री महपाल देवः |
| 16. | <i>Obv.</i> श्री योमे** देव (<i>Rev.</i> असावरी श्री समन्त देव). |
| 17. 18. | <i>Obv.</i> श्री कीर्त्ति** देव, <i>Rev.</i> **पाल श्री समन्त देव. |
| 19. | Al Muktadir billah, <i>Obv.</i> المقتدر بالله, <i>Rev.</i> الله جعفر. |
| 20. | Ibrahīm of Guznī, <i>Obv.</i> श्री समन्त देव, <i>Rev.</i> السلطان المعظم
ابوالمظفر ابراهيم. |
| 21. | Mohammed bin Sām, <i>Obv.</i> श्री महमद साम, <i>Rev.</i> श्री हमोर. |
| 22. | Mahmūd bin Mohammed ¹ السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمد
بن سام |
| 23. | Alā-ed-dīn Mohammed of Khārizm, <i>Obv.</i> السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا
والدين. |
| 24. | Fac-simile copy of the Arabic word عدل from a coin of Khvadava. |

¹ It has been considered unnecessary to introduce a coin of Mohammed bin Sām of this type, as the piece here given resembles his coins, from whence it is derived, in every respect except the name it bears.